

A MASTER OF DEBATE.

GOVERNOR MCKINLEY'S SPEECHES.
SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY from His Election to Congress to the Present Time. Large Svo., pp. 64. New-York, D. Appleton & Company.

What Mr. Gladstone once said of John Bright may be said also of Governor McKinley: "The people like to hear his voice." It is a strong, melodious voice, vibrating with intensity of personal conviction. Always absolutely in earnest, even when he is discussing an abstract question of political economy or national finance, he never leaves his audience in doubt respecting his sincerity and essential honesty of purpose. To a voice of remarkable flexibility, power and purity of tone are added a presence of commanding dignity and the stateliness of manner which distinguished the old school of American orators. While he is not without large resources of humor, he prefers to discuss large questions with extreme seriousness and gravity. He is never flippant; he never seeks to force a laugh by appealing to the popular sense of what is ludicrous, and he contents himself with grim pereveries and with keen satire when it is necessary to light up with gleams of humor the exposition of questions of current politics. He is primarily a debater and incidentally an orator. The distinguishing characteristics of his public addresses are lucidity of style and cumulative argumentative force. His appeal is made to the intelligence rather than to the emotions of an audience. His reasons with opponents and strives to convince them, but he never overwhelms them with denunciation and invective.

The attempt to collect the speeches and addresses of a public man making so few pretences to florid oratory or academic graces as Governor McKinley is less hazardous than at first sight it would appear. The pages of this large, well-printed volume contain few if any rhetorical passages or studied effects of declamation, but they are filled with luminous discussion of public affairs. A school-boy having a recitation to declaim would find nothing here suited to his imitative powers of elocution, but the man of affairs desiring information on current questions of politics, and aiming, moreover, at the acquisition of the art of public debate, could have no better work of reference.

Governor McKinley, while a man of strong political convictions, is not a partisan in his methods of public discussion. He invariably defines the position of his opponents, and presents an impartial analysis of their arguments. His speeches are conspicuous for fairness and sincerity. He strives always to bring out clearly what is essential to the argument on each side, and then to adjust the scales with an even hand and an unprejudiced eye. It is this habit of mind that imparts educational value to his speeches and methods of discussion. Governor McKinley's speeches cannot be compared with the splendid rhetoric and artistic oratory of Charles Sumner, but whoever reads them will obtain access to a treasury of accurate information on public questions. He will also learn the rudiments of the art of conducting debate with malleable toward none and charity for all, with an inherent love of justice and fair play, and with unwavering loyalty to moral convictions.

The volume contains sixty-five selections from several hundred speeches, and has been compiled by Joseph P. Smith, librarian of the Ohio State Library, and revised by Governor McKinley himself. There is a wide range of subjects. There are memorial addresses on President Garfield, General John A. Logan, William D. Kelley, General Grant and General Hayes. There are addresses on special occasions, such as the dedication of a public school building, meetings of the Ohio State Grange and the Pioneers of the Mahoning Valley, Decoration Day, Labor Day, the dinner of the Pennsylvania New-England Society, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of The Tribune, a meeting of the alumni of Oberlin College and the opening of the Ohio building at the World's Fair. His most important tariff speeches are reproduced without change, including those on the Woodhill, the Tariff Commission, the Tariff of 1883, the Morrison tariff, Protection in Virginia, his address on free raw materials before the Home Market Club of Boston, the Mills Tariff bill, the Senate Tariff bill, the Tariff of 1890, the Conference Committee's report and the issues of 1892. Every phase of the tariff discussion of the last twenty-five years is presented in this volume, and the doctrine of protection is explained, advocated and defended with unrivaled resources of technical information, logical skill and argumentative power. Among many other topics discussed in Congress or on the platform which are represented in this collection are Congressional gerrymandering, free and fair elections, crimes against the ballot, equal suffrage, labor arbitration, pensions, the Treasury surplus, the Dependent Pension veto, the purchase of Government bonds, the Tax Refunding bill, pensions and the public debt, no compromise with the demagogue, the Federal Election bill and the Hawaiian treaty. The table of contents reveals at once the conspicuous part which Governor McKinley has taken in American public life, and the scope and range of his intellectual and political activities.

One of the best samples of debating power is the speech on free and fair elections, delivered in Congress on April 18, 1879, on a repeal rider to an important appropriation bill. It opens with denunciation of "a bold and wanton attempt to wipe from the law all protection of the ballot-box and surrender its purity to the unholly hand of the hired repeater, and its control to the ballot-box staffers of the great cities of the North and the tissue-ballot party of the South." Then follows a lucid exposition of the election laws and their method of operation. After a complete refutation of the general charge that these laws interfere with local elections, and encroach upon the rights and powers of the States, the tactics of the repealers are analyzed and their arguments and objections taken up and answered in detail, with scrupulous fairness. After the laws have been explained, and defended, and the question of repeal considered, wholly on its merits, the method of forcing legislation by means of an appropriation rider is examined in the light of historical precedents; numerous Democratic citations against it are made, and the general conclusion is reached that the tactics of the repealers are wrong in themselves and revolutionary in tendency. There is not a single passage in the speech of any literary pretensions or rhetorical effect; but the logic is unanswerable, the argumentative method is without a flaw, and the level of debate is raised to a high level.

As a debater, Governor McKinley has many of the best characteristics of Mr. Gladstone. He has the same courtesy of manner in replying to opponents; the same dignity of style and deliberation of manner; the same luminous method of exposition of details; the same power of concentration of thought upon the core of the matter in hand; the same argumentative skill in parrying objections; and the same fiery earnestness in holding fast to his convictions. He is, however, less verbose than the great Commoner, and more direct in his logical processes. He never loses the thread of his argument in a maze of sophistries. His sentences are always terse and never a tangle. He argues invariably at short range, and with destructive force when his batteries are brought to bear upon an enemy's position. A good example of his debating power is found in his speech on the question of a quorum.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what is this question? What are we contending about? We are contending as to how it shall be ascertained that we have a constitutional majority present in the House. We insist, and the Speaker's ruling so

declares, that members in their seats shall be counted for the purpose of making a quorum, and that their refusal to respond to their names shall not upon a call of the roll, though present, shall not deprive this house of moving in the discharge of great public duties and stop all legislation.

Gentlemen upon the other side contend that that is what they insist that they shall perpetuate a fiction, because they say it is hoary with age, a fiction that declares that although members are present in their seats in this hall shall be counted to be constructively absent. We are contending that this shall be a fact and a truth, not a fiction, but that the members who sit in their seats in this hall shall be counted as present, because they are present. They want the Journal to declare a lie; we want the Journal to declare the truth. And it is the truth that human position and moral indefensibility; it is the continuance of a fiction that they invoke in justification of their position. It is about time to stop these legal fictions.

Let us be honest with each other and with the country; let us defeat bills in a constitutional way, if we can, or not at all; give the frame of debate opportunity of expressing the year-and-a-half views of the judgment and will of men. Representative can be expressed and responsibility fixed where it belongs, and we will preserve our own self-respect, give force to the Constitution we have sworn to obey, and serve the people whose trusts we hold.

Controversy is to determine who is in the majority of a minority. Talk about the "tyranny of the majority"; the tyranny of the minority is infinitely more odious and intolerable and more to be feared than that of the majority.

The strongest tariff speeches in this collection are those on the Mills bill and the Tariff bill of 1890. In these Governor McKinley displays his complete mastery of one of the most complex questions of modern times. One is conspicuous for destructive criticism and the other is not less remarkable for lucid exposition of constructive legislation. The method in each is Mr. Gladstone's own, with the same power of making dry details luminous and figures pictorial. There is the same analytical acumen and equal elevation in style, especially in the well-rounded peroration of the second speech:

With me this position is a deep conviction, my theory. I believe in it and thus warmly advocate it, because enveloped in it are my country's highest development and greatest prosperity; out of it come the greatest gains to the people, the greatest comforts to the masses, the widest encouragement of individual ambitions, the largest rewards, dignity, of and maintaining our citizenship, upon which the safety and purity and permanency of our political systems depend.

The address before the Home Market Club in Boston on free raw materials contains in a condensed form Governor McKinley's fundamental knowledge on the tariff question. It is admirable in form, clearness and vigor. The address entitled "Issues Make Parties," delivered at Ann Arbor before the first National Convention of Republican Clubs, is also a remarkably fine example of political oratory of the highest class. The collection of speeches has been made most judiciously, and forms a most valuable volume of reference. As a storehouse of information on the issues of National politics it will be of permanent utility. It ought also serve the purpose of educating public speakers in the art of debate and in the cultivation of the graces and amenities which dignify and adorn politics.

Governor McKinley's speech on the subject of strong political convictions, is not a partisan in his methods of public discussion. He invariably defines the position of his opponents, and presents an impartial analysis of their arguments.

His speeches are conspicuous for fairness and sincerity. He strives always to bring out clearly what is essential to the argument on each side, and then to adjust the scales with an even hand and an unprejudiced eye.

It is this habit of mind that imparts educational value to his speeches and methods of discussion.

Governor McKinley's speeches cannot be compared with the splendid rhetoric and artistic oratory of Charles Sumner, but whoever reads them will obtain access to a treasury of accurate information on public questions.

He will also learn the rudiments of the art of conducting debate with malleable toward none and charity for all, with an inherent love of justice and fair play, and with unwavering loyalty to moral convictions.

The volume contains sixty-five selections from several hundred speeches, and has been compiled by Joseph P. Smith, librarian of the Ohio State Library, and revised by Governor McKinley himself. There is a wide range of subjects. There are memorial addresses on President Garfield, General John A. Logan, William D. Kelley, General Grant and General Hayes. There are addresses on special occasions, such as the dedication of a public school building, meetings of the Ohio State Grange and the Pioneers of the Mahoning Valley, Decoration Day, Labor Day, the dinner of the Pennsylvania New-England Society, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of The Tribune, a meeting of the alumni of Oberlin College and the opening of the Ohio building at the World's Fair. His most important tariff speeches are reproduced without change, including those on the Woodhill, the Tariff Commission, the Tariff of 1883, the Morrison tariff, Protection in Virginia, his address on free raw materials before the Home Market Club of Boston, the Mills Tariff bill, the Senate Tariff bill, the Tariff of 1890, the Conference Committee's report and the issues of 1892. Every phase of the tariff discussion of the last twenty-five years is presented in this volume, and the doctrine of protection is explained, advocated and defended with unrivaled resources of technical information, logical skill and argumentative power. Among many other topics discussed in Congress or on the platform which are represented in this collection are Congressional gerrymandering, free and fair elections, crimes against the ballot, equal suffrage, labor arbitration, pensions, the Treasury surplus, the Dependent Pension veto, the purchase of Government bonds, the Tax Refunding bill, pensions and the public debt, no compromise with the demagogue, the Federal Election bill and the Hawaiian treaty. The table of contents reveals at once the conspicuous part which Governor McKinley has taken in American public life, and the scope and range of his intellectual and political activities.

A Tale of Toiles and Azots. By KIRK MUNROE. Illustrated. 12mo. \$1.00.

The publication of this well-known and standard work is now resuming, making use of alternate and easy to bring home to his readers his reflections touching the early development, intellectual, moral and social, of character.

MEMOIRS OF MADAME JUNOT.

A Story of the War. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. New Edition. Illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. Small 12mo. \$1.50.

A new and beautifully illustrated edition of this charming classic, in uniform style with the illustrated "Masses' Chant," issued last year.

"Nothing more beautiful has ever been named by a Southern writer."—New Orleans Picayune.

THE SUNNY DAYS OF YOUTH.

A Book for Boys and Young Men. By the Author of "How to Be Happy Through Marriage," etc. 12mo. \$1.25.

The author is no less enterprising in this book than in his previous work, making use of alternate and easy to bring home to his readers his reflections touching the early development, intellectual, moral and social, of character.

MEMOIRS OF MADAME JUNOT.

A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. Post Svo. Cloth, 50 cents. New Uniform Edition, Revised by the Author. Already Issued in this Edition.

Sabina Zemba.—White Heather.—The Wise Woman of Inverness, etc.—Yolande.—Lindis Shakespear.—Adventures in Thule.—Sandwich Bell.—Sunrise.—White Wings.—The Beautiful Witch.—The Maid of Kilkenny.—The Three Fathers.—Madam Violet Kilmeny.—In Silk Africa.—A Princess of Thule.—The Strange Adventures of a Phantom.—A Daughter of Hell.—Lady Silverdale's Sweetheart.—Maid of Dare.—Green Pastures and Picnic.—Other volumes to follow.

MEH LADY.

A Story of the War. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. New Edition. Illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. Small 12mo. \$1.50.

A new and beautifully illustrated edition of this charming classic, in uniform style with the illustrated "Masses' Chant," issued last year.

"Nothing more beautiful has ever been named by a Southern writer."—New Orleans Picayune.

THE SUNNY DAYS OF YOUTH.

A Book for Boys and Young Men. By the Author of "How to Be Happy Through Marriage," etc. 12mo. \$1.25.

The author is no less enterprising in this book than in his previous work, making use of alternate and easy to bring home to his readers his reflections touching the early development, intellectual, moral and social, of character.

MEMOIRS OF MADAME JUNOT.

A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. Post Svo. Cloth, 50 cents. New Uniform Edition, Revised by the Author. Already Issued in this Edition.

Sabina Zemba.—White Heather.—The Wise Woman of Inverness, etc.—Yolande.—Lindis Shakespear.—Adventures in Thule.—Sandwich Bell.—Sunrise.—White Wings.—The Beautiful Witch.—The Maid of Kilkenny.—The Three Fathers.—Madam Violet Kilmeny.—In Silk Africa.—A Princess of Thule.—The Strange Adventures of a Phantom.—A Daughter of Hell.—Lady Silverdale's Sweetheart.—Maid of Dare.—Green Pastures and Picnic.—Other volumes to follow.

MEH LADY.

A Story of the War. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. New Edition. Illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. Small 12mo. \$1.50.

A new and beautifully illustrated edition of this charming classic, in uniform style with the illustrated "Masses' Chant," issued last year.

"Nothing more beautiful has ever been named by a Southern writer."—New Orleans Picayune.

THE SUNNY DAYS OF YOUTH.

A Book for Boys and Young Men. By the Author of "How to Be Happy Through Marriage," etc. 12mo. \$1.25.

The author is no less enterprising in this book than in his previous work, making use of alternate and easy to bring home to his readers his reflections touching the early development, intellectual, moral and social, of character.

MEMOIRS OF MADAME JUNOT.

A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. Post Svo. Cloth, 50 cents. New Uniform Edition, Revised by the Author. Already Issued in this Edition.

Sabina Zemba.—White Heather.—The Wise Woman of Inverness, etc.—Yolande.—Lindis Shakespear.—Adventures in Thule.—Sandwich Bell.—Sunrise.—White Wings.—The Beautiful Witch.—The Maid of Kilkenny.—The Three Fathers.—Madam Violet Kilmeny.—In Silk Africa.—A Princess of Thule.—The Strange Adventures of a Phantom.—A Daughter of Hell.—Lady Silverdale's Sweetheart.—Maid of Dare.—Green Pastures and Picnic.—Other volumes to follow.

MEH LADY.

A Story of the War. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. New Edition. Illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. Small 12mo. \$1.50.

A new and beautifully illustrated edition of this charming classic, in uniform style with the illustrated "Masses' Chant," issued last year.

"Nothing more beautiful has ever been named by a Southern writer."—New Orleans Picayune.

THE SUNNY DAYS OF YOUTH.

A Book for Boys and Young Men. By the Author of "How to Be Happy Through Marriage," etc. 12mo. \$1.25.

The author is no less enterprising in this book than in his previous work, making use of alternate and easy to bring home to his readers his reflections touching the early development, intellectual, moral and social, of character.

MEMOIRS OF MADAME JUNOT.

A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. Post Svo. Cloth, 50 cents. New Uniform Edition, Revised by the Author. Already Issued in this Edition.

Sabina Zemba.—White Heather.—The Wise Woman of Inverness, etc.—Yolande.—Lindis Shakespear.—Adventures in Thule.—Sandwich Bell.—Sunrise.—White Wings.—The Beautiful Witch.—The Maid of Kilkenny.—The Three Fathers.—Madam Violet Kilmeny.—In Silk Africa.—A Princess of Thule.—The Strange Adventures of a Phantom.—A Daughter of Hell.—Lady Silverdale's Sweetheart.—Maid of Dare.—Green Pastures and Picnic.—Other volumes to follow.

MEH LADY.

A Story of the War. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. New Edition. Illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. Small 12mo. \$1.50.

A new and beautifully illustrated edition of this charming classic, in uniform style with the illustrated "Masses' Chant," issued last year.

"Nothing more beautiful has ever been named by a Southern writer."—New Orleans Picayune.

THE SUNNY DAYS OF YOUTH.

A Book for Boys and Young Men. By the Author of "How to Be Happy Through Marriage," etc. 12mo. \$1.25.

The author is no less enterprising in this book than in his previous work, making use of alternate and easy to bring home to his readers his reflections touching the early development, intellectual, moral and social, of character.

MEMOIRS OF MADAME JUNOT.

A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. Post Svo. Cloth, 50 cents. New Uniform Edition, Revised by the Author. Already Issued in this Edition.

Sabina Zemba.—White Heather.—The Wise Woman of Inverness, etc.—Yolande.—Lindis Shakespear.—Adventures in Thule.—Sandwich Bell.—Sunrise.—White Wings.—The Beautiful Witch.—The Maid of Kilkenny.—The Three Fathers.—Madam Violet Kilmeny.—In Silk Africa.—A Princess of Thule.—The Strange Adventures of a Phantom.—A Daughter of Hell.—Lady Silverdale's Sweetheart.—Maid of Dare.—Green Pastures and Picnic.—Other volumes to follow.

MEH LADY.

A Story of the War. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. New Edition. Illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. Small 12mo. \$1.50.

A new and beautifully illustrated edition of this charming classic, in uniform style with the illustrated "Masses' Chant," issued last year.

"Nothing more beautiful has ever been named by a Southern writer."—New Orleans Picayune.

THE SUNNY DAYS OF YOUTH.

A Book for Boys and Young Men. By the Author of "How to Be Happy Through Marriage," etc. 12mo. \$1.25.

The author is no less enterprising in this book than in his previous work, making use of alternate and easy to bring home to his readers his reflections touching the early development, intellectual, moral and social, of character.

MEMOIRS OF MADAME JUNOT.

A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. Post Svo. Cloth, 50 cents. New Uniform Edition, Revised by the Author. Already Issued in this Edition.

Sabina Zemba.—White Heather.—The Wise Woman of Inverness, etc.—Yolande.—Lindis Shakespear.—Adventures in Thule.—Sandwich Bell.—Sunrise.—White Wings.—The Beautiful Witch.—The Maid of Kilkenny.—The Three Fathers.—Madam Violet Kilmeny.—In Silk Africa.—A Princess of Thule.—The Strange Adventures of a Phantom.—A Daughter of Hell.—Lady Silverdale's